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**SPEECHES BY**

**DR. ERNEST FLAGG HENDERSON**

**PROF. M. J. BONN**

**HON. CHARLES NAGEL**



# SPEECHES

BY

Dr. ERNEST FLAGG HENDERSON

*on "Germany"*

Prof. M. J. BONN

*on "International Understanding and  
International Co-operation"*

Hon. CHARLES NAGEL

*on "Present Day Issues"*

Delivered before the German University League at its  
Anniversary Meeting at the Astor Gallery,  
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York,  
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INTRODUCTIONS BY

Prof. WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



*Professor Shepherd.*

MEMBERS OF THE GERMAN UNIVERSITY LEAGUE AND FRIENDS:

It is not so very long ago that I served as toastmaster at a festive gathering, the subject for discussion being "Neutrality." There and then I remarked that, as a professor of history, I felt that, since the facts underlying this war had not yet been sufficiently ascertained, it would be wise to suspend one's judgment. That observation was quoted in a certain magazine, the editor of which declared that, in his opinion, what I had said was a good definition of a historian, namely, a person who thinks that nothing should be said about anything until a hundred years after everybody concerned is dead, including the historian himself, who had been dead all the time!

It so happens that the three speakers whom we are privileged to hear this evening, and your toastmaster also, have been students at German universities. All of them, furthermore, are, or have been, professors. Those of you who recall German history will remember the days of 1848 when so many professors were active in framing a new constitution for the Fatherland. Perhaps it was not without foreboding that their critics may have cried: "Jetzt ist das Vaterland verloren-mit hundert fünfzig Professoren!" Now you are going to listen only to four.

It is one thing to be an instructor actually engaged in the task of uplifting the young; it is quite another to dwell on the mountain tops of New Hampshire, occupying a point of vantage, from which, as scholar and philosopher, it is possible to gaze at the world from a broad angle of vision. The gentleman from that region who is about to address you is renowned for his many contributions to our knowledge of history. Chief among them is what he calls "A Short History of Germany." It consists of two volumes, containing 988 pages and 335,000 words! Though it is not exactly short, it is an exceedingly good history. I hope that its distinguished author may make it "shorter" still by adding to it! Having studied in the land of efficiency, he will now tell of what he has seen and heard and experienced there. It is my privilege to present to you Dr. Ernest F. Henderson.

*Dr. Henderson*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It was with pleasure that I accepted the invitation to speak before the German University League, and for the following reason: In these days when German civilization, *Deutsche Kultur*, is the butt of senseless attacks and ignorant gibes, it is the special duty of us former students and graduates of German universities not to keep silent. I should feel myself a traitor to the University of Berlin, where I passed some of the happiest years of my life, were I to ignore such an invitation as this. I shall be happy if I can contribute even in the smallest degree to spreading the knowledge of what that *Kultur* really is and what it has accomplished. And I do not fear in the least that by so doing I shall sacrifice the future, either of myself or of my children, as one at least of our prominent educators seems to think will inevitably be the case with those who speak for Germany. It is a poor Americanism that tries to down the free expression of opinion by such a threat as this, and I for one refuse to be intimidated. It is rank fanaticism, it is the language that a Robespierre might have used.

I was asked by your secretary to speak on some of those points in Germany which struck me favorably or unfavorably. I am particularly glad to do this as during my last stay, which extended over nine months, terminating only two days before the war broke out, almost nothing struck me unfavorably, but almost everything more than favorably. And I think I saw as many sides of life as have most of you who are Germans by birth. My special interests carried me far out of the beaten track; into burgomasters' offices, into industrial and trade schools, among inland harbors and on canals, into workmen's museums and municipal pawnshops, into labor exchanges, into factories and beer breweries, into hospitals, into jails and penitentiaries, into Jew-baiting meetings and the Prussian diet, into workmen's houses, and into crematories. I was quite a frequent attendant at football games and athletic sports.

I spent periods varying from two days to ten weeks—on my last trip alone—in Hamburg, Hanover, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Engelskirchen, Frankfurt, Strassburg, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Ulm, Augsburg, Munich, Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin and Kiel. I was an ardent devourer of the newspapers, often reading as many as four a day—and I wish to bear witness here to the fact that to the best of my remembrance I never came across a single statement in one of them to make me suspect that Germany was out for any other kind of conquest than that legitimate conquest of trade which comes from superior training, superior organization and superior intelligence and application. I read many expressions of apprehension as to what France, England and Russia were about, but not one, I think, that showed a belligerent spirit.

But I won't go into that matter any further. My theme to-night is German efficiency. Let me say here that a new book called "Socialized Germany" has recently appeared, which tells Americans far more about German efficiency than they have hitherto known. But the book is vitiated by the bias of the author, which leads him into misstatements that deserve the strongest condemnation. Howe's bugbear is the Prussian Junker. The Prussian Junker may have his faults but he is by no means so powerful or so all-pervading as Howe imagines. Again and again Howe tells us that Prussia is Germany, that Prussia is feudal and that conditions of land-holding in Prussia are about what they were in the eighteenth century. Gentlemen, I find that of the total number of farms and estates in all Germany, including Prussia, of course, only four per cent. are owned in larger parcels than 250 acres. Some of the estates are enormous, I grant. So are some of our ranches in our own West. But even then 78 per cent. of the whole area of Germany is in farms and estates of

under 250 acres. Yet Howe dares to say—I quote him literally—that “land monopoly is the economic framework of Prussia and through Prussia of the Empire as well.” If Howe would look into the system of land-holding in England and Ireland he could make out a far better case for feudalism—there land monopoly is far more the economic framework than in Germany.

I won't detain you any longer with a critique of Howe except to mention two or three glaring errors that he makes in trying to elucidate his feudal theory. While the King of England, he says, “disposed of his crown lands,” the King of Prussia “kept his feudal holdings.” I won't develop this point except to say that the statement is absolutely false. The crown lands were taken over by the Prussian State, although a part of the revenues from them goes to pay the King's civil list. Here is a still better one: We are told that Stein and Hardenberg brought about the division of the land into small farms but that their reforms did not penetrate beyond the southern states: “The landowners of Prussia declined to permit the Agrarian reforms to be adopted.” But, gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, Stein and Hardenberg were ministers of the King of Prussia and had nothing whatever to do with internal reforms in the other states. I am sure there are men here who can bear me out in this statement.

Here is still another: “As a further check on democracy,” Howe tells us, the members of the Reichstag are not paid.” But they are paid, my dear Mr. Howe, and your statement, like hundreds of others that are daily made about Germany, is absolutely false. A change in the constitution of May 21, 1906, gives the members a salary of 3,000 marks a year, with 20 marks deducted for every day of absence.

I want to get off the subject of Mr. Howe, but I must just add that conservative and Junker are not synonymous, that the so-called free conservatives stand up for the rights of industry quite as much as for those of agriculture, that many of the contentions, even of the Junkers, have been fully justified by Germany's ability to feed herself during this war, and finally that on checking up the names of the representatives in the Prussian diet of those “descendants from the old feudal barons,” as Howe calls them, I find that only 101 out of the 442 members of the Prussian lower house have so much as a von before their names. The rest are plain Mr. Braun, Mr. Müller, Mr. Bauer, Mr. Kahler, Mr. Heinz, Mr. Nöll, Dr. Levy, etc. Eighty-three of them are doctors of one kind or another.

But to return to German efficiency. That efficiency in the ultimate instance is the work of the German schools. I will not dwell on the points pertaining to them that are familiar to all of you; the care with which the curriculum is thought out, the rigid training of the teachers—why in Germany a child's intelligence is considered something so sacred that even teachers in private schools have to pass a state examination—the splendid equipment on which no expense is spared, particularly in the free industrial and continuation schools. In Düsseldorf the city even supplies carts and horses with which the butcher's and grocer's and baker's delivery boys can practice careful driving. What struck me most, I think, was the care and devotion with which the least ray of childish intelligence is hunted down and fostered. Below the public schools are so-called *Hilfsschulen* or aid schools, where attention is given to the backward child according to his individual needs. Below the aid schools are preparatory classes for the aid schools as well as for the schools, and free kindergartens, while in Frankfort at least there is an observation station with its own farm which takes the very worst possible cases from the aid schools, and begins with the systematic development of the child's faculties and motor impulses. In Berlin, if children are bedridden or crippled or so deformed and repulsive

that they cannot appear in school, regular teachers employed by the city for the purpose seek them out in their homes and give them their lessons there. That most unfortunate class, the illegitimate children, are cared for in the most systematic way imaginable, special guardians being appointed to look after their interests. In the industrial continuation schools not only are the children taught to plan and execute their work with the utmost precision and skill, but they are taught in a hundred ways to advance the interests of German industry as a whole: to keep up the reputation for good materials as well as for good workmanship, to be cleanly in all their ways, to estimate the amount of profit an artisan may reasonably charge for a given piece of work—I remember it was fifteen per cent. over and above the price of his labor and materials. These trade and continuation schools have raised up the happiest and most self-respecting class of workmen in the world, the least quarrelsome and contentious, the best dressed, the most intelligent, the proudest of their occupation. I shall never forget visiting a class of chimney-sweeps and finding that they were obliged to learn the construction of their chimneys down to the very last detail, to be able to tell what was the matter with the chimneys if they smoke, and to demonstrate by a drawing and mathematically just how much higher a chimney ought to be in order to remedy the evil. They even go into the chemistry of soot, and of the gases that are apt to cause a conflagration. Don't you think even chimney sweeping becomes quite attractive when studied in that way? And that is merely one example out of hundreds of what is done for the dignity of work. In some of the higher branches, especially in the all-day trade schools, the pupil gets an entirely new outlook on the world as a whole. In the garden of one of the trade schools at Frankfort I found that specimens were grown of all the different kinds of trees that furnished the wood of the wood-workers. But enough of the German schools, although the subject is inexhaustible.

Let me try to illustrate German efficiency at the hand of two other kinds of institutions. The first is the national compulsory insurance. At the time of my first journey to Germany it was just going into effect. At the time of my last journey it was just going into effect for whole new classes of the population, for domestic servants and for employees. In the sickness insurance alone twenty million people are now insured, each paying his weekly contribution and drawing benefits aggregating nearly five hundred million marks a year. Since 1911 the procedure in branches of the insurance as a whole has been codified in no less than 1,805 paragraphs.

I can't go into details, of course, on an occasion like this. The benefits would seem to us actually small, but relatively they are quite large. Thus a young workman who has complied with certain conditions from the time when he was sixteen to twenty-one years of age and paid in forty marks, will if he then become an invalid, be entitled to draw a pension of one hundred and forty-one marks and sixty pfennigs for all the rest of his life, which, I think, is a pretty good return on his compulsory investment. It is the elasticity of the system and the attention to every little detail that strikes one with wonder. There are now, for instance, about ten thousand sickness exchequers or *krankenkassen*—there were until recently more than 20,000—and beyond a fixed minimum no two out of the 10,000 need necessarily give exactly the same amount of benefits. One or two little practical details of the accident insurance impressed me very much, too, and showed, I think, the spirit that animates the whole immense organization. If a woman loses her right arm she is usually awarded ten per cent. more damages than would be the case with a man. And why? Because a one-armed man can find occupation as a watchman or a janitor, whereas a woman will be constantly hampered all her life in moving about her pots and kettles. I found, too, that relatively high damages were paid in cases of accident



where a man's ability to work was not much impaired, but where some scar or disfigurement would make it more difficult for him to get employment. But it was the preventative work of the national insurance that impressed me most of all. What a force we have here for the betterment of human conditions, and the curing of human ills I think very few even of you university students have ever realized. The insurance has spread out its activities until it not only takes care of its sick and well members, but of their whole families besides, even giving a trousseau to the girls when they marry!

It does all this, too, as a good business proposition. Happiness, well-being and health go together. Take another case like this, for instance. A tuberculous child in a family makes the risk greater for each adult and tends to increase the load on the insurance. It has been proved, I believe, that certain preventative measures, including regular medical observation of the family, come to less in the end than the insurance would otherwise have to pay for its sick members alone. So the insurance now takes enlightened care of thousands of households; sees that the children live hygienically and get enough good food and fresh air. If they need it the insurance sends them to a hospital, a home or even to a watering place; it conducts a regular house-to-house war on ignorance, prejudice and superstition; it actually pays its patients, after an illness, not to go back to work too soon, and thus run the risk of a relapse and possibly of permanent disability. It is all, as I have said, a working business proposition; permanent disability is the costliest thing with which the insurance has to contend. In the same way the branch of the insurance that deals with accidents has more than 400 experts drawing a salary of over 2,000,000 marks, whose only business is to go round among the factories and see that the safety regulations are obeyed. This is entirely apart from the regular state inspection which, too, is very thorough. The invalidity and survivor insurance has the largest funds at its disposal—it invested nearly 200,000,000 marks in 1912 alone. And how does it invest its funds? It has out more than a billion marks in loans to city governments, savings banks, building associations, etc., for improving workmen's dwellings and for similar humanitarian objects.

I will give you just one good homely sample of its methods: Good teeth means good digestion and good digestion means longer life with fewer invalidity and survivor pensions. Accordingly in 1912 the insurance provided 40,000 of its clients free with false teeth at a cost of more than a million marks!

I won't go any further into this question of the national insurance. But you may be interested to hear the verdict of a Frenchman on it—a verdict written, of course, before the war: "The money spent in carrying out the insurance laws reappears in a thousand forms. It is transmuted into family happiness, health and dignity and creates a strong, vital Germany that will last forever." This Frenchman will probably not desire to-day "a strong, vital Germany that will last forever," but he said it, all the same, at a time when Frenchmen thought it worth while to face and to tell the truth.

One might imagine that when the war broke out the compulsory insurance would have been utterly demoralized. Millions of men, called to the armies, ceased paying their weekly contributions—hundreds of thousands were likely to die or to need hospital care in distant parts where the insurance could not possibly reach them. I consider the speed and thoroughness with which this whole matter was settled one of the greatest triumphs of German organization. By August 4, only five days after the war-cloud first broke, two fundamental laws had been passed and were in force which regulated the whole difficult matter. One is called "a law concerning the retention of claims on the sickness insurance—*Gesetz betreffend Erhaltung von Anwartschaften aus der Krankenversicherung*—and the other a law to secure the solvency of the sickness

exchequers. Gesetz betreffend Sicherung der Leistungs-fähigkeit der Krankenkassen. So early in the war, then, this matter was settled once and for all. All that was needed later was a few ministerial decrees to make the matter clear—and a considerable extension of the benefits accorded to women before and after childbirth, to which the government contributed largely.

So much for the imperial compulsory insurance.

I was almost as much impressed by another German institution. I speak of the free city labor bureaus or employment agencies. They also work for family happiness, health and dignity. We in America do not begin to realize their achievements and their possibilities. We have free state employment agencies in Massachusetts, but the free employment agency in a city like Frankfurt of 400,000 inhabitants fills in a year almost exactly double the number of positions as all the Massachusetts State agencies combined with offices in Boston, Springfield, Worcester and Fall River.

And filling positions is but one of the activities of the German agencies. I recommend a visit to the agency at Cologne as one of the greatest experiences of progress we Americans can have. Here in a beautiful building erected for the purpose at a cost of 600,000 marks we have what amounts to a workman's club. Every detail is psychologically perfect; there are 8 or 10 entrances that prevent awkward encounters; the very decorations on the wall are thought out so as to cheer up the man who comes there out of a job. He has well-warmed, well-lighted waiting rooms where he can spend the whole day if he pleases; he can buy refreshments for almost nothing; there is even a room where he can have his shabby clothes patched up so as to put in a good appearance. If he is a clerk or an educated man there is a room where he can sit and write addresses or fold circulars at so much an hour while he is waiting for a better job. If he needs legal advice he can get it free. If he wants an apartment for his family there is an office in the building, inspectors from which have first visited the apartment, taken a sketch of the rooms and ascertained the price so as to save him useless tramping about and to make sure that he will not be cheated in the matter of rent. There is an office in the same building that will insure him against unemployment.

What I cannot convey in mere words is the spirit of organization and of liberality as well that pervades all these labor bureaus. The workmen themselves have their full share in the management, the bureaus are all in close touch with each other; if they send a man to a distant point they pay his fare on the railroad and trust to the employers for reimbursement. I was told in Düsseldorf that they actually come out ahead on this item because the owners are so grateful for the trouble they are saved that they usually send a few marks more than the mere fare. There is one department of the labor exchanges that is worthy of the highest possible praise. It is that for *Erwerbsbeschränkten*, or people who because of infirmity or for some other reason are not capable of doing a full day's work. Or there may be a prejudice against them as in the case of discharged prisoners. Some of the exchanges in this way have done the noblest kind of work. It has been so successful in Düsseldorf, for instance, that, by an expert's computation, the money saved the city's charitable institutions on which these unfortunates would otherwise have been a burden has been sufficient to pay the whole yearly cost of the whole labor exchange.

Just think what it means to a workman to be spared all that tramping from employer to employer, only to be rejected nine-tenths of the time! All the expense of advertising or of fees to agencies which are out merely for gain and that have at best a mere local clientele, all that sickening uncertainty day after day and week after week. The German free city agencies are so admirably run, they have everything about the employer and the applicant so carefully card-catalogued and formulated, they make such absolutely lavish use of the

telephone—in fact their system works like such carefully oiled and well-cared-for machinery that the majority of cases are disposed of within the 24 hours. In so short a time as that the cares and troubles of thousands of German families are swept away—and not merely laborers' families. The free city agencies have won such recognition that all kinds of tradesmen, and even scientifically trained persons like engineers and school teachers, are using them more and more.

One would have thought that in the case of the labor exchanges, too, the war would have induced utter demoralization. Many of the exchange officials were called to active service, whole branches of industry were paralyzed, and hundreds of thousands of workers thrown out of employment, the railroads were fully occupied with the mobilization, even the automobiles were requisitioned, and there seemed no way of transporting workmen from one place to another. Yet it was just on distant farms and estates that laborers were most needed for bringing in the harvest. The way in which these problems were solved will form one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the war. Not only were the labor exchanges kept running, but their number was instantly increased—they were instantly put into closer touch with each other, and a great sort of labor clearing house was established in Berlin—the Reichszentrale der Arbeitsnachweise. When there was no other way of transporting the workers they were sent in boats on the canals or sent forth in troops on foot after arrangements had been made to lodge them at inns along the roadside. It was realized that many men would have to change their trades and the workshops of the industrial schools were at once utilized for giving the most necessary instruction.

I fear I have been talking entirely too long—I merely wish to say in conclusion that the working together of Germany's splendid institutions has done almost as much to win the war as has the unparalleled bravery of her armies. If ever a nation kept her head in the worst conceivable emergency that nation is Germany. The heart has gone on throbbing and has never allowed the face to grow pale or the extremities to weaken.

What I have said about the schools, the labor exchanges and the national insurance might have been said about a dozen other activities: the national state and municipal utilities and industrial enterprises, the co-operative societies that have enabled the farmer to keep up the nation's supply of food, the savings banks and credit institutions, the splendid hospitals and charity organizations. Each and every one of these have helped toward success in this awful struggle. It is the spirit behind these activities, ladies and gentlemen, the deathless devotion to duty, the real interest in the welfare of all the people, the scientific probing that has evolved from years of ceaseless toil and experimenting the very best method of dealing with every social problem—this, ladies and gentlemen, is to me the meaning of German Kultur, and when I hear men scoff at and deride it I feel like going to them and saying, Here, you fellows, you are talking through your hats, you are criticizing what to you is a sealed book, you no longer talk that way about the German army because all that it does is out in the light of day, you know nothing whatever about those other splendid achievements of organization, you think that everything—money, labor, thought—has been sacrificed to the one end of conquering other people's territory. There never was a greater mistake in the wide world. When I think of what our country could gain by a clear comprehension, by a frank and generous recognition of all that Germany has done for civilization, by a fervent study of her methods and a proper adaptation of them to our needs, instead of by a blind unreasoning hostility as bitter as that of the Jacobins to the aristocrats in the French revolution, I feel like going on my knees and praying to God, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

*Professor Shepherd.*

You have heard what constitutes German efficiency. May I take advantage of my position as toastmaster to append to Dr. Henderson's interesting address a definition which I have ventured to coin of that highly controversial word "Kultur." You will remember that, soon after the nations of Europe entered upon their mighty struggle of swords, there arose here a contest, no less mighty, of words! It had to do with the question as to the identity or diversity of "Kultur" and "culture." Men who claimed they knew declared the two were identical. Others equally versed maintained that "Kultur" is merely "organized efficiency." The expression sounds plausible enough; but suppose you analyze it. Is there such a thing as unorganized or disorganized efficiency? Clearly, efficiency to be efficient must be organized; if so, the qualifying word is wholly superfluous. "Kultur" and "culture" are altogether different terms. One is social, the other individual, in its nature. One arises out of conditions largely peculiar to Germany, the other out of conditions which are an inheritance of western and southern Europe. To my mind "Deutsche Kultur" is "that stage of human achievement which is reached by an efficient application of the best results of activity in all branches of knowledge, gained at home and chosen from abroad, to the welfare of the individual and the state." That is not "culture," but it is "Kultur"—or at least, so I venture to think.

We have long since recognized the great debt that we of this country and many others owe to the German Fatherland. It was with Germany that we first had a regular exchange of professors, of intellectual ambassadors, as it were. As you well know, our higher institutions of learning are derived from English and German models. The one has given us our colleges, the other our university faculties.

Despite these influences, and despite the fact that wars may rage and statesmen imagine a vain thing, the real relationship of nations to one another is determined by the attitude of the man-in-the-street. What this person thinks he knows about foreigners creates his beliefs and directs his acts. His brow being neither high nor low, his mentality, presumably, is that of the level-minded, and therefore to be trusted. It is this man-in-the-street who needs education, if ever good fellowship among nations is permanently to prevail. War and finance, commerce and diplomacy have all failed signally to remove international suspicion and discord, to establish a mutuality of understanding among the peoples of the earth. Education dealing with the man-in-the-street can do it, and some day will. You all know those famous lines of Tennyson's which have been so often quoted:

"Till the war-drums throb no longer and the battle-flags are furled

In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

But it is what follows that has the real significance:

"There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

To assure the establishment of this rule of common sense is the task of education.

A great factor in such a work of co-operation is the exchange professor. He comes as a bearer of tidings of friendliness and sympathy and understanding, to join in our common good will. Since the outbreak of the war intellectual Germany has been represented by only one of these international messengers and co-workers in the United States. Thus far he has been associated primarily with two of our more prominent universities, Wisconsin and Cornell. Ere I present this gentleman, I want to ask him a question. "Professor Bonn, are you a Prussian?"

*Professor Bonn.*

"I am a Prussian and a Bavarian." (Laughter.)

*Professor Shepherd.*

That spoils in a measure what I was going to say! To the mind of our average sympathizer with the "Allies" a Prussian appears to be something like the Cyclops (laughter), as characterized by Vergil in one of the most difficult lines I ever had to scan: "Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens cui lumen ademptum"—"A huge, horrible misshapen monster, with his eye put out." (Laughter.) But the South German is no Prussian; he is simply the real German who is temporarily Prussianized (More laughter.) Whatever his degree of Prussianization, he does not seem to care particularly about his sad condition, so long in fact as it is not the Prussian whose eye is put out!

Now it is my pleasure to present the exchange professor from Germany, the man from Prussia and Bavaria, Director of the College of Commerce in Munich, Professor of the University of Munich, Dr. Moitz J. Bonn.

*Professor Bonn.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

After having served for two and a half terms as visiting professor to three great American institutions, I might feel tempted indeed to discuss that form of international co-operation embodied in the exchange of scholars from different countries. Such a discussion ought not to start from the point of view of personal experiences: It ought to take into account the basic obstacles to international co-operation.

The hardest lesson the war has taught us is, that the nations of the world do not understand each other. This misunderstanding of each other's ways is not confined to any single nation. Americans have for some time been marveling at what they call the peculiar twist of the Teutonic mind, which will not see things as the Americans see them. They are unaware, that their astonishment is but an open acknowledgment of their own inability of comprehending another nation's point of view. Whether that point of view be right or wrong, could only be determined after their intellectual surprise had passed away.

And the Germans on their part, cannot understand how the people of the United States can consider themselves the champions of humanity, whilst they let their ammunition plants run overtime, to facilitate the killing of the sons of a nation, with whom they desire to live in friendship and amity. For the Germans cannot see, that in a commonwealth organized on the principle of non-intervention, individuals and classes may indulge in acts, the neutral government of a more socialised state would not tolerate.

National misunderstanding and ignorance of each other's way of thinking do not exist only between the United States and Germany; though the fact that Germany and Germany's ways have come in for a good deal of criticism lately, is just now embittering the relations between the two people.

England and France, as seen in the limelights kindled by ardent American admirers, are quite as remote from the real France and the real England, as is the Germany of the grim pro-ally from the Germany of the Germans. Proud and aristocratic feudal England, the England of the Upper Classes, who wage this war, is a somewhat remarkable ideal for a democracy which believes that all men are equal. And the imperialistic French Republic, which has turned from one war of conquest to another during the last thirty years, is indeed a quaint object of adoration for sentimental pacifists; quite apart from the fact, that her capital, the playground of a gay, if somewhat wicked world, does not quite correspond with one's ideas of a holy city, where Puritan moralists ought to worship.

The Europeans, on their side, indulge in similar misconceptions. The American commonwealth, as depicted in their minds, is certainly not the America of the living Americans. Each race of travelers, when setting out on their Western tour, are trying to find a country corresponding to their own preconceived ideas. The haughty reserved Englishman sees but a race of forward hustlers; his more democratic countryman is amazed by the perfect organization of some great hotel and somewhat shaken by the clatter of some "Limited de Luxe." The German dreamer of dreams of social reform discovered a land where the future of mankind had been worked out in a most satisfactory way. We have to face it fairly and squarely: the knowledge which the big nations have of each other is very scant indeed. The only difference is, that their ignorance is sometimes born from love and sometimes from hate. This ignorance is not so much due to the absence of knowledge of facts touching the other nation's life; it is produced by the systematic misuse of the standards, by which they judge each other's activities.

Men realize that the great nations of the world have evolved systems of institutions, which make them differ considerably from each other. It is quite natural, that to each of them their own national system is the best, and that they extol it above that of their neighbors. Old nations, like the English and the French, whose part in the world's history has always been acknowledged, act upon that assumption quite naively. To them the superiority of their own systems is a matter of course, which can scarcely be debated. By taking it for granted, they have succeeded in securing a kind of universal acknowledgement from the other nations. It is very amusing just now, to hear France called the most civilized nation of the world by admiring Americans, who neither know the world, nor are cognizant of the intense backwardness of all French life outside Paris and a few international resorts.

Other nations, like the Americans or the Germans, who were not till lately called into the councils of the world, do not enjoy the same privileged position. They are quite as much convinced of the merits of their systems as are their neighbors, but they feel that these merits are not as greatly appreciated as they ought to be. They try to explain them eagerly to their rivals, with the object of winning their applause. That, to me, is a grave mistake.

It is almost pathetic to see some people in the United States craving for the approval of Europeans for their own solid achievements. It is not only pathetic, it is downright silly, when a nation like Germany is trying to convince an unwilling world of the merits of her system. She ought to be delighted with the just appreciation, she may get from sympathetic friends. But she ought to understand, that no big nation can shape her institutions and develop her methods, subject to foreign approval. If the intellectual inheritance of a nation, as embodied in her institutions, satisfies her own people, that inheritance is sufficient, whether it is called culture or something else. If the German system satisfies the wants of eighty million people of German extraction in central Europe, it cannot gain additional lustre, even by the plaudits of the great American democracy. People make their institutions for their own use. It is not Germany's business to invent social systems for foreign markets, and it is not her duty to submit her institutions to foreign criticism.

The great nations will have to realize, that the national characteristics, which distinguish them from each other, will become more pronounced as time goes on. These distinctive features are not a deviation from some universally acknowledged type of universal manhood. They are each nation's contribution to the world's social improvement. For diversity, not uniformity, of social systems, is the task of mankind. Competition between nations, each trying to outdo their neighbors in most perfect social service, not standardization of institutions, is the aim of human development.

I sympathize with those American friends, who would consider it a terrible calamity, if the whole world were organized in imitation of German patterns. The world would be much poorer, if it lost all the distinctive features of French or of Anglo-Saxon civilization. It would be equally impoverished at least, if the social system, the German people have evolved for their own needs, were destroyed in the vain endeavor, to replace it by some universal Anglo-Saxon panacea. The quicker the great nations realize that it is their business to evolve the most perfect social system for their own people, as their share in the cause of humanity, the easier they will understand each other.

If nations could take this attitude, they would give up that captious international criticism, the mere object of which is to demonstrate to themselves and to their neighbors the superiority of their own system. When Americans denounce the tyranny of European governments exercised against their unwilling subjects, they are partly, no doubt, influenced by motives of

quite genuine commiseration. These denunciations of wrong betray, however, not unfrequently an exultant assertion of their American superiority, which in the eyes of its apostles, has done away with all possibility of wrong-doing and of suffering. And when the European indignantly exhibits what he considers the inherent corruption of American political life, he does not care so much to show his American friends a way out of their supposed misery; he is quite content, if he can demonstrate to his own satisfaction, that their ways of government are inferior to those, his own people have evolved. As long as international criticism starts from the assumption, that one nation has evolved the true type of social institutions, and that all others must follow in its wake, it is based on ignorance, supported by arrogance. One may be very grateful for the many political institutions the Anglo-Saxon world has evolved, for its own use, and for the use of mankind, when other nations saw fit to adopt them. But there is no more striking example of national arrogance than the claim raised by some apostles of Imperial Britain, that she has the mission to anglicise the world. This self-righteous arrogance is the deepest cause of international misunderstanding. It cannot be eradicated by the spread of information; it is an attitude which cannot be changed by knowledge of facts; it can only be done away with by rigid moral and mental self-discipline.

There are no doubt many countries in the world, which have not been endowed with workable political institutions; there are many people, whose social inheritance is too slender to allow them quick progress. These undeveloped nations may borrow from others—if they are free to do so; they may be the objects of legitimate missionary activities, if they happen to be colonial dependencies of more progressive races. There is no room for missionary activity amongst the great nations of the world. Let each of them develop and perfect their own systems of institutions. They ought not to try to export them on approval or on commission.

When nations learn to be proud of their own institutions, without feeling bound to run down or to reform those of their equally civilized neighbors, we shall be able to find a good basis for international co-operation. And we shall be able to learn from each other those lessons, which can be learned. When situations arise, in which the experience of their rivals is useful to a nation, they have in times past always been quick enough to profit by it, provided their vanity is not bruised by the other's claim of superiority. Germany, for example, in days gone by, has learnt a lot from her neighbors. Her political life has been largely influenced by English and Belgian examples. In the social sphere her rural life has been greatly affected by the ideas of the French Revolution. She has not blindly imitated foreign countries, she has assimilated their experience to her own needs. And during the last twenty years she has been paying back her debt, by having become the leader in modern social legislation, which England, France and Belgium tried to imitate.

Experience has shown that an international exchange of ideas and of institutions cannot be promoted by missionary activities from abroad. Whether such work is carried out by the sword, as Napoleon did in Germany, or whether foreign apostles of foreign culture overrun a country in a peaceful propaganda, in neither case are gratitude or international co-operation likely to follow. When Robert Owen came from England, trying to spread the gospel of his socialistic creed in the United States, many working men turned against him. "It does seem unaccountably strange," a report said of him, "that a native of that part of the world, where thousands are every day groaning under oppression, should leave these unfortunates, come over to the new world, and in the midst of a people enjoying their fullest liberty, proclaim himself the apostle of equal rights, and tender them the hand of friendship against their oppressors."

His experiences have been repeated many a time; no civilized country is willing to be saved by foreigners, though for specific purposes they may be willing to listen to them. Thus, the institution which I represent here, the exchange professor, is not in my eyes an agency for spreading foreign culture. He is an expert invited by his fellow experts to co-operate with them in scientific work. He is neither an ambassador of culture sent by one nation to another, nor a kind of commercial traveler trying to force a market for the intellectual wares of his own country. If he has a mission at all outside his professional academic work, it is to keep his eyes open, and to observe new ways and methods in foreign life, which his own people might do well to imitate. If he wants to do missionary work, he must do it when he gets home. In fact, as far as international co-operation in the broad sense of the word is concerned, the value of the exchange professor does not so much depend on his capacity for teaching, as on his capacity for learning.

International co-operation can only be carried out on a broad foundation of international understanding. International courts and joint international institutions may be excellent things; they will not work, before the different nations have understood the problems confronting each of them. It is not enough to know a nation's general situation, to know her past, and to analyze her future ambitions. One must understand the soul of a people, before one can justly judge its actions, and try to influence its future ways.

Some few men, gifted with wonderful imagination, may be able to achieve that task from abroad, without having shared the life of the people they are trying to understand; good books may help them, talks from foreign experts may stimulate them. But in most cases neither books nor lectures can give more than an interest in a nation's cause or supply the bare facts underlying its progress. Most men can only understand another people's life, after they have shared it for some time.

Those who go abroad do not always contribute much to mutual understanding. A network of international agencies covers the civilized world to-day, which prevents the ordinary traveler from ever coming in touch with the real thing. The boats and railway trains he travels in, the hotels he frequents, and the restaurants which cater for him, are carefully organized on a non-committal cosmopolitan plan. He does not any longer shed his own habits when he goes abroad; and he judges most things according to his own national and vocational prejudices. The business man's judgment of a foreign nation is affected by the outcome of the deal he was interested in. The globe-trotter, with social aspirations, bases his views on the more or less courteous treatment he is receiving. The tourist is mainly influenced by the state of the weather, the visiting arrangements of the galleries, and the accommodation at the hotels. They are all in a hurry and not very much interested in anything outside their own particular purpose. It seems to me, that there is one class of travelers, and one class only, who have done much for international co-operation. And that is the student. The student, and the student alone, is capable of understanding the soul of another people. When he starts on his journey, he is driven by that thirst for the unknown, which makes the great intellectual explorer. He has not yet a system of his own, as he will have in later life, foundations of which would be shaken, if the essential facts of another nation's life were acknowledged. He is not yet part of an organization ways of which can only be justified by distorted descriptions of foreign rivals. Whilst his powers of detailed observation may not be so well developed as those of a more mature observer, he has the enthusiasm and the intellectual honesty of youth. He has ideals, and like the knights of old, he believes in the existence of some wonderful isle, where they may be realized. He will assuredly find his promised land, though eyes dimmer than his would never



see it. And when he has found it, his enthusiasm will enable him to understand the soul of another nation, better perhaps than her own children could do it. Such a discovery will be granted to him once in life perhaps, and once only, when he is young and free to dream. Many a German student has done so in days gone by, and the Germans are proud of the work they have accomplished in interpreting to them the life of foreign nations. Though they idealized it, they understood it. They have discovered facts sometimes those nations themselves were unaware of. My own teacher, Dr. Brentano, demonstrated to the world the importance of the modern trade-union movement in England, long before the English understood the full meaning of that development.

But the Germans are proud too of the many foreign students, and not least of the Americans, who come to their universities to study German life. I need but allude to those who went to Goettingen. They understand her, because they loved her. Some of them, it is true, have fallen away from her in her hour of trial; a few of them, I might almost say, from too much loving, for they made an ideal of Germany, which no modern nation could hope to live up to. But the majority of them have kept faith in the ideals of their youth; they divined Germany's case, even when they had no facts to go upon, and in doing so, they have done one thing, for which their nation and the world will be grateful to them one day: They have prevented the snapping of the intellectual links between two nations during a time of great stress. And they have shown during a critical stage in the world's history, how great the student's part is in international co-operation. It will be the business of your organization to strengthen those links and to add new ones in time to come, when the war is over and when the co-operation of all nations will be possible once more.

When I left Madison, where I held the Carl Schurz professorship at the University of Wisconsin, a leading Wisconsin paper was good enough to praise my work, not on account of its intrinsic worth, but, as it put it, "because I had kept the light burning in maintaining the connection between German and American universities." I think I may return that compliment with far greater truth to the American students, who have studied in Germany, and to the members of the German University League. You have kept the light burning. And as it has burned through the darkest hours of the night, it will, I am sure, continue to burn until the coming dawn.

*Professor Shepherd.*

To be hyphenated or not to be hyphenated, that is the question—which perversion of the original leads me to say that last year I happened to be in the capital of a native state in India, miles away from the nearest railroad and miles away from anything that savored of the European type of civilization. There I was received by the ruling prince surrounded by his courtiers and guardsmen garbed in medieval fashion and girt about with medieval weapons. As his Highness could not speak English readily, he had his secretary play interpreter. This gentleman was extremely voluble. He could talk my native tongue more rapidly than I could. (Laughter.) "Mr. Shepherd," he said, "will you be good enough to inform his Highness what the attitude in Canada and the United States is toward the admission of Hindus into those countries?" "Why do you couple the United States with Canada?" I asked. His reply was: "I refer to all British colonies in North America." (Great laughter.) Then I thought it my duty to tell him something about July 4, 1776; but when I was all through, he looked incredulous. Now I understand the reason for it. When I arrived home in August, 1914, I was inclined to agree with him! (Laughter.)

We have two great nations in the world: The United States of America and the United States of Germany. The fundamental principle for which the United States stands and which we have inherited from our colonial forefathers is that of individual liberty. Perhaps we might call it a spiritual hyphen binding us to England and, in a measure, to France. The fundamental principle, on the other hand, for which the United States of Germany stands, and which it has inherited from the conditions arising out of its history, is socialized efficiency. Now I venture to ask you, my friends, is it not possible that the future may provide an ideal hyphen to connect our cosmopolitan land, peopled by representatives of many races, with our brethren across the seas? If so, I feel that we shall have a veritable union of hyphens: a union of the British and French concept of individual liberty with the German principle of social efficiency! (Applause.)

So as to elucidate my point further, I would like to drop back into history a moment. Once upon a time, in the sixteenth century, there was a nation about which it was said that, when she moved, the world trembled. That nation was Spain. In those days Spain possessed what no country had ever possessed before, and none has had since: supremacy on both land and sea. Such could not be said either of ancient Rome or of modern Britain. Spain laid down the rule substantially that the seas belonged to her; whereupon Francis I, King of France, is declared to have sent a letter to his cousin of Spain, asking the latter to show him the will of Father Adam giving the world to Spain. Until he saw that, said Francis, he would take what he could get!

Some time later, in 1609, a famous Dutch jurist, Grotius by name, wrote a work entitled "The Freedom of the Seas," in which he denounced such a pretended monopoly by Spain. This denunciation was followed by vigorous action on the part of the Dutch, who, in a measure at least, destroyed the monopoly. Just as soon as they had broken it up, they promptly erected in its stead a monopoly of their own on the waters. Having done this, they next proceeded to lay stress upon the duty of all nations to heed the pacific precepts of an international law, devised by the same Dutch jurist, which would hinder attempts to interfere with the Dutch control of the seas. Both action and attitude evoked prompt protest from the English. As was the case with the Frenchman and the Dutchman in regard to the Spaniard, so now a new Pharaoh was to arise in the Egypt of the ocean who knew not Joseph! "Not so much by discourses as by the louder language of a powerful navie" was an Englishman's rejoinder, in 1635, to the pacific arguments of the Dutchmen. Sixteen years later was launched the famous Navigation Act, which virtually threw down the gauntlet of defiance to the Dutch. Then came another English pamphleteer of the seventeenth century, whose utterance showed

more clearly still the policy of England. "A spirit of commerce and a strength at sea to protect it," he wrote, "are the most certain marks of the greatness of empire. He who commands the ocean, commands the trade of the world; he who commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and he who commands this, commands the world itself!"

The seas are the common heritage of us all. Over them and through them speed the currents of thought which bring the peoples of the earth closer to one another. The seas too are a kind of "hyphenation," without the free use of which the scattered groups of mankind must remain in a sense isolated.

I have spoken of the ideal "hyphenation" that may blend the spirit of individual liberty with the principle of social efficiency, or, if you like, of "culture" with "Kultur." In this union there is not, there will not be, and there ought not to be, anything political. Allegiance and patriotism continue as they ever have been—associated with the land of one's birth or of one's adoption, but never with both. If the former land be politically renounced, the latter remains supreme. One's affections may be divided, but his allegiance and patriotism are inseparable; and this applies with equal force to the men and women of all nationalities who have made our country their home. Affection for the land of one's ancestors, and sympathy with it in an hour of adversity, are no evidence of disloyalty to the United States, so long as we ourselves are not parties to the conflict. This we have not been, and, God willing, we never shall be!

The blend to which I have alluded is admirably exemplified by a statesman whose long and honored career is one that has rightfully gained for him the hearty esteem of his fellow Americans. By them he has been recognized in signal fashion as a man who, born of German parents on American soil, has brought to his native country a large measure of public service well performed. That man is the Honorable Charles Nagel, the former Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

*Hon. Charles Nagel*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The honor which the League has shown me by inviting me to make this address is very great; and, I may say, very surprising, since my right to membership in the League hangs upon the slender thread of one year's attendance at the University of Berlin. In view of the impatient reception which is given any word of appreciation for the German people, I cannot refrain from adding that during my attendance at the University I was under the particular influence of Dr. Rudolf Gneist, a noted author and teacher, and perhaps the most pronounced and most widely recognized advocate of the English system of law and government that Germany has ever produced.

The honor shown me does not, however, relieve me of embarrassment. Let me be frank. It is comparatively easy to speak in terms of approval of those things in which either listeners or readers are known to believe; but I think it extremely unwise, at least for me, to pursue such a course. In my judgment he who speaks at this time in this country is under very great responsibility to himself and to his fellowmen. It is important to stand for the freedom of conscience, opinion and speech; but it is equally important to hold the exercise of that freedom in restraint by moderation, and to have it guided by fairness. I know that in adopting this course I am apt not to please either side. That is not an unusual experience for men who seek to avoid partisanship. I shall look for my consolation in Abraham Lincoln's counsel, to be sure not to please one side at the expense of the other (applause), and that if you please or displease both, you are apt to be about right.

I shall take that course, because it is my duty and my right; and in doing so I shall rely upon the spirit of the German University, which at all times stands for spiritual and intellectual freedom. Let me speak of that which the stress of conflict has forced upon our minds.

Perhaps at no time in history have so many great powers been involved in war at one and the same time. Certainly at no time has one nation which stood apart been put under so strong an obligation as the United States is to-day, to observe rules of actual neutrality. I do not mean only technical—the so-called governmental neutrality. I mean a neutrality which pervades the whole people; which maintains an attitude of impartiality to the combatants abroad, and which does justice to all component parts of our own people at home. Our Supreme Court has said "For as the sovereignty resides in the people, every citizen is a portion of it, and is himself personally bound by the laws \* \* \* or the treaties \* \* \*."

In a country in which the people thus constitute the government, official neutrality, negated by popular unneutrality, becomes a mockery—a breeder of resentment abroad and at home. Why is our obligation peculiarly strong? Because we are a unique people, put together as no nation on earth has ever been; with every portion of it calling for toleration, sympathy and consideration. We have assembled all the colors of the rainbow; but our color scheme still lacks proportion, adjustment, harmony. Never in the experience of history has there been a time when there was so earnest a call for mutual sympathy and consideration and understanding. (Applause.) It is for us to help to make it possible to have all the people dwell side by side, with goodwill, and fairness and justice for each other.

Have we done it? I am not here to stir up feeling. I want to allay it. I think it time to counsel moderation and forbearance. If we are not careful, every belligerent nation in Europe will, at the close of the war, stand

united more than ever before; while we, the one strong nation at peace, will be harassed for a quarter of a century or more by the discord that is being recklessly and wantonly created now.

But what is the test of neutrality? We are told that the time may soon arrive when a line will have to be drawn between those who stand for America and those who do not. I agree with the principle; but I deny that there was occasion for its announcement. Above all, do I contend that any such announcement should be made with such clearness in terms and in manner as to relieve it from the suspicion of promoting the very partisanship which it undertakes to condemn. The evidences of material support given to one side in the foreign conflict, with official sanction, to say the least, furnish abundant ground for the exercise of self-restraint in levelling innuendo or denunciation at the descendants of those foreign nations who for one reason or another have been denied similar support at our hands.

I was asked some years ago by a distinguished representative of one of the great belligerent powers what would happen if the United States became involved in war with Germany. I was asked whether I thought that the citizens of German extraction would, under such conditions, sustain the government at Washington. I might have declined to answer that question—I might have resented it. But I said with perfect assurance that in such an event, sad and tragic as it would be, the population of this country of German descent, regardless of past affiliation or present opinion, would stand by the government at Washington. (Applause.) In the worst event, it would mean, on a larger scale, the fate of those distinguished Englishmen, who to-day are supporting their government, although they can find neither political nor moral excuse for their country's war. It would be no more tragic than the fate of the Jews who, divided into as many citizenships as their countries, are to-day fighting under as many flags as there are warring nations, with naught to guide them but loyalty to the government which has recognized them, and the vague hope that they too may be the remote beneficiaries of any improvement that the sacrifices of the war may bring.

That much is true of our whole citizenship. But because it is true, because of the gravity of such an event, because of the enormous responsibility and burden that it would put upon all the people of this country, it is the solemn duty of every one to do what he can to avoid an unjust or an unnecessary conflict; and to speak without hesitation, before permitting so tragic an event to overwhelm us. (Applause.)

What I say is no more true of a possible controversy with Germany than it would be of a conflict with France, or with any other of the European powers. It is this very gravity that has made it necessary for us to consider carefully what the true significance of some of our controversies has been or is. It puts upon us the obligation to speak our minds and to preserve our right of opinion and expression; and not to permit ourselves to be silenced when questions of great moment are impending. (Applause.) It is right to avoid personal controversy. It is wise to leave unnoticed incidental disputes. But it is not compatible with citizenship in a republic to submit to dictation in matters of opinion upon questions of public moment. Nothing short of a state of war between our country and a foreign country can set bounds to our freedom of thought and speech; and, indeed, up to that point the right to think imposes the duty to speak.

What has been our experience? An undisguised attempt has been made in this country to test our patriotism by our partisanship for Great Britain. If we had to deal only with a widespread and altogether natural sympathy for a cause embraced by Great Britain, the situation would be best met with patience, and with dispassionate discussion. An appeal for consideration of

equally natural sympathy for the people of other countries would find equally tolerant hearing. But this is not the case. We have been met by a storm of intolerance. In effect, we have been told that Great Britain can do no wrong. It is heralded abroad that every sign of sympathy for any other people, any attempt to show that a people opposed by Great Britain may nevertheless be a contributor to the world's civilization, must be accepted as a sign of disloyalty to the United States; and in the case of those who have preserved the integrity of their un-English names, as evidence of a divided allegiance. But for this condition many of us might avoid the charge of partisanship for endeavoring to complete the picture by presenting the other side of the case.

Why shall an American citizen submit to this? I have endeavored to avoid the extreme pro-English or pro-German attitude; but I have to confess that it has been made unduly difficult to maintain the position of a mere pro-American. In many quarters it is regarded as objectionable to hold an independent position, and to insist upon free expression of thought. For a time this situation appeared to be the result of thoughtless assumption; indeed, the attitude seemed to be confined to particular parts of the country. But by degrees it became apparent that we had to deal with the persistent contention that coming to America was tantamount to becoming English. The clearer this purpose was made the more determined the resistance necessarily became. It is a compliment to a man to have his loyalty taken for granted; but it is the reverse of a compliment to take the man himself for granted. If we were simply to become English, why did our parents or earlier ancestors sail past the coast of England and come to the United States? They might have stopped at the English shores, which, to England's credit be it said, were then open to every one. She welcomed the oppressed of all countries; and many a struggle for freedom in foreign lands has been fought under the protection of her liberal form of government. But our ancestors came to the United States because this was a distinct country, with independent institutions, which gave a chance for the development of those ideas of liberty of which the sons and daughters of foreign lands had dreamed for many years. (Loud applause.)

Why is my patriotism to be tested at this time, and who is to be my judge? True, English is our national language; our form of government is to be traced largely to English sources. But, in the last analysis, our institutions are the growth of the experience of the civilized world; and, apart from our political institutions, in the field of science and learning and arts, our indebtedness to other countries is relatively very large. Is it disloyal for me as an American citizen to respect any race that is not English? Must even the descendants of the French and the Dutch peoples qualify for citizenship by disclaiming their antecedents? Or is it the purpose of the present agitation to exclude only the German? Is it unpatriotic to admire the French? I have great admiration for them; particularly for the French peasantry, known for their frugality; and for their patriotism, which has prompted them to rise sublimely to meet every demand that the political entanglements of France have made upon them. To-day the conduct of the French people fills every lover of freedom, and every friend of sane government, with renewed confidence in the blessings of rational self-government.

I admire other peoples. Is it unpatriotic to like the Irish? I do. I respect the Swedes and the Swiss. I resent the injustice to the Finlanders. I sympathize with the Bohemians and the Poles. I cannot forget the glorious work of Cavour, and trust that it may not be destroyed as a result of Italy's engagement in the great war. I find renewed support for my esteem for the Dutch; and feel that they are not accorded the credit at this hour, to which their dignified, patient, sacrificing and self-restrained conduct during all

the excitement of this war entitles them. I am persuaded that the Belgian government had forfeited its rights as a neutral power. But there is no reason to believe that the Belgian people were advised of this situation. In judging of the fierce struggles between populace and soldiers in the early stages of the war, it seems to me we must bear in mind conditions which were altogether out of the ordinary. But why continue? Is the value which I may set upon the virtues of a particular people to be tested by its alignment—accidental or avowed—in this particular war? I preserve my admiration for the English people, as I have felt it all my life. Because I cannot agree with the conduct of the British government, must I surrender my confidence in the English people? Indeed, in many respects, the government and the people appear to be so far apart that I should find it difficult to reconcile admiration of both. Is it unpatriotic for an American to express these views? A few years ago Lord Haldane delivered a great address before the American Bar Association, which, as a compliment to its English colleagues, held its meeting in Montreal, Canada. That address was heralded all over the United States. Wherever lawyers met the praises of Haldane were sung. To-day his name has been hissed in England, and there are no American lawyers so poor to do him reverence. Is it unpatriotic for me as an American if I find it impossible to adjust my admiration of Great Britain's great men to the unforeseen vicissitudes of British politics? Having read Morley's works with interest and profit for all these years, must I take his books from my shelves because he now holds the view of British politics for which I contend? With all Americans I feel a sense of gratitude to Bryce, for having written the American Commonwealth—the result of personal observation, inquiry and devoted study. Must I for that reason accept with unquestioning credulity his atrocity reports, based upon ex-parte examinations and hearsay testimony, and made without his having visited the places where the offenses are claimed to have been committed? In that connection, is it disloyal to ask why prominence is given to these reports, and the results of German investigations made upon the spot by men of high repute, are suppressed? And if our judgment is to be swayed by atrocity reports, why are we compelled to look to German publications for accounts of the horrors of East Prussia, Poland and South Africa?

I admire the Germans; perhaps more ardently, because as a son of German parents, familiar with the language of that nation, I may have within my reach some information, which dependence upon a single language has denied to many of my friends in this country. I do not hesitate to say that I marvel at people who either fail or refuse to see anything great in the present demonstration of the German people. It is not necessary to decide questions of political right or wrong, to have your heart and your mind go out to such universal, unquestioning popular devotion for a common cause. It is not necessary to say that one country is all wrong and another country is all right. It is entirely possible that even as Great Britain will be awakened from the consequences of a long period of weakening process, so Germany may have been saved from the approaching consequences of a similar fate by the timely interference of a terrible ordeal.

But this I do not hesitate to say. It is time for Americans, who make any pretense to neutrality, to have opinions based upon something more than the prejudiced accounts that have been fed out to them. There comes a time when every intelligent man and woman is responsible for judgment and for attitude; and when it is no exaggeration to say that the prolongation of the war, with all the horrors and destitution that follow in its track, must be traced at least remotely to the position taken by the intelligent and immune witnesses of every land.

I do not wish to dwell at length upon this phase. I ask you not to become partisans in the discussion of foreign issues; but to preserve open minds, relying that the truth is the most powerful argument to be brought to the support of any cause. Do not identify yourselves in this country with any particular nation. Do not speak of Anglo-Americans, German-Americans, Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, or other similar distinctions. As a descendant from the German people, I have never hesitated to join societies that were calculated to keep alive traditions, sweet customs, language or song of that nation. But when it comes to organizations that savor of political activity in my country, I have declined membership; and I can only advise every citizen of this country to adopt that course. Do not permit yourselves to be segregated. Stand upon the platform of the United States as Americans, and declare your opinions upon any question that concerns our country, from that platform.

I know that the impression has been given about me, and no doubt about many others, that we have affiliated with separate organizations of a quasi-public character in this country. That is one of the accepted methods to create prejudice and discord. For my part, I am prepared to say that I have not. I not only have not joined them, but I have been at pains in practically every instance to state my reason for refusing to do so. It is not for me to criticize those who have participated in such organizations. To my mind, only a question of sound policy is presented. I cannot but admire the courage of men who took their position as members of organizations, and without whose energy and enterprise we in this country would have been left for a long period of time without that information which was absolutely essential to a correct understanding of the situation. (Applause.) In saying this I must draw the line at every act that smacked of conflict with the laws of our country. It would not be necessary to say this, but for the attempt to lay the acts of ill-advised, excited, heedless men, and sometimes criminals, at the door of those who have sought, often unwisely, but always honorably, to bring to the attention of our citizenship the real merits of a cause that it was proposed to obscure and to misrepresent.

But giving due credit to the courage of men who called into life separate organizations, I must, for my part, insist that I regard their course as unwise, because it tends to accentuate national distinctions in the United States. A good cause must be won by the approval of an impartial people; and, to that end, open-mindedness and national loyalty are absolutely essential.

I object, to repeat, to the attempt that has been made in this country to enforce upon us a certain test of patriotism. It stings. I well know how it feels. My people lived in the South during the early period of the Civil War. In my boyhood I was called a "Dutchman," in contempt, by those who did not know how honorable a name it is. We came North practically as refugees; and no admonition ever given me by my father had greater influence upon my life than the advice never to entertain a feeling of resentment for the South. Having lost everything as a Union man, my father confirmed his advice to me by voting for Tilden and for Cleveland. I did not follow him, because I was more disposed than he to place the general principles of my party above its particular standard bearers.

I speak of this because I would discourage the spirit of resentment and retaliation. There has been provocation—grievous provocation; but you cannot set it right by aught but fair-mindedness; confidence in the truth; patient persistence; contention for the right. Do not dwell too much upon the criticism of the hyphenated citizen. After all, it comes to very little. If the term "German-American" is used by way of description, it is perfectly correct. Of course, I am by ancestry a German-American. I would not deny it.



I would be proud of it. My pity goes out to those who seek to deny their descent during the immediate excitement. Beware of him who would prove his loyalty at that cost. His adopted allegiance might be had at a similar price. At the close of the war no one will take his measure more truly than the Anglo-Americans. Nothing has been more destructive of the true fiber of second generation manhood and womanhood than the too prompt substitution of easy custom for traditional virtues. I pity more especially those who have enjoyed enough of advantage by way of education and information to be helpful, if they would, under existing conditions; and who for this or that reason have refused or failed to avail of their opportunity.

If, however, the term "German-American" is to represent a dual allegiance, I resent it. As a citizen of the United States I am an American. As an American I want to be neutral. I want to regard foreign questions with reference to their effect and influence upon my country; and I do not propose to be hectored by men who boast of their unneutrality on the one hand and charge me with unneutrality on the other. I trust that I could go abroad officially or privately, and return an American still. Perhaps I am peculiarly fortunate in insisting upon this distinction, because I am secure so long as my name is spelled and pronounced as it is. If more men had insisted upon the integrity of their names in this country, our census would make a truer record of the composition of our people; and the representation of some races which it is now sought to minimize would appear more formidable than it looks. But I repeat, do not worry about this. If you have to change your own name, in obedience to the custom of the land, be sure to retain the root, so that your ancestry may be traced; and if you feel lonesome in being designated as German-Americans, just include Anglo-American in the common family, and most of the sting will be lost.

As you have been made to suffer during the past year, you will be in danger of being flattered the coming year. The political pot is beginning to boil. There have been Franco-American political meetings in Massachusetts. Do you not believe that there will be German-American meetings in Wisconsin? My prediction is that the old custom will be overdone. If you do not protect yourselves you will be made to suffer from adulation. There will be politicians without number who, provided with neutrality dope, will try to hypnotize hyphenated citizens. (Applause.) When it comes to our elections, votes count; and to my mind it is a mistake for any portion of our people to permit themselves to be treated as a separate or distinct class of citizens in the United States. I have discouraged the use of the term German-American—not because it is untrue; but because the transition from the descriptive sense to a doubtful political purpose is so easy. My advice is not to compromise for compliment or for place; but to stand without flinching for pro-American platforms, with pro-American candidates to defend them.

When I speak of the right of opinion and the duty to maintain it, I do not refer so much to the controversies that belong exclusively to foreign countries as I do to the questions that affect our country. These are not purely domestic; because I am not one of those who believe that the great foreign war can be waged or finished without very far-reaching consequences to our future. There are a great many such questions about which we must have opinions; and with respect to which we must preserve the right to express ourselves. For illustration—the ammunition business. I am not here to argue the merits so much as I am to say that the situation presented a question to which varying answers would necessarily be made; and that the attempt to condemn men as unpatriotic because they did not see fit to take a convenient view calls for resistance to the attempt. Every effort to coerce judgment challenges a free man's resistance. I know that our government

was not compelled under international law to prevent the sale of ammunition. By this time I think every one admits that much. Ammunition, however, is a contraband article. Trade in contraband is denounced by international law. True, the government is not compelled to prevent it, and the individual citizen may engage in it at his own risk. The government, however, should assume no responsibility for his protection. It is doubtful even whether a person who has furnished ammunition on credit would have a standing in court for the recovery of the purchase price. While by this time in some quarters the belief has grown that there is something peculiarly meritorious about the ammunition business, we have not yet heard of a single stockholder in a private corporation who has undertaken to make responsible for profits lost, an executive officer for declining ammunition contracts. The ground that this business is immoral, and that, therefore, a company may decline it, has not been challenged. Is it unreasonable under such circumstances for a citizen to urge that his government's domestic conduct be made to conform to recognized international standards?

But, to repeat, a government is not compelled to prohibit business of this character; and our government indulged the privilege. Having taken that position in the beginning, our government has taken the further position that it would now be unneutral to prevent its citizens from continuing to furnish ammunition throughout the war. It might be argued, I trust, without subjecting the speaker to the charge of disloyalty, that if this position were right, nevertheless, the rule did not contemplate that the citizens of our country should furnish ammunition on a larger scale than they were reasonably prepared to furnish at the beginning of the war. It can hardly be claimed that it would be unneutral for our country to prevent the organization of new enterprises and the change of old ones for the purpose of virtually turning our factories into protected ammunition camps of one belligerent. I believe that there is authority for saying that having taken our position in the beginning, it would be unneutral to change that position during the war. This, however, does not mean that we should do more than we could reasonably be counted upon to do when our position was first announced. Nor does it mean that the belligerents themselves might not by their conduct, directed against our interests in other respects, give us ground, by way of retaliation, to modify our position with respect to ammunition sales. In view of the paralyzing blows that have been levelled at our maritime interests, is it unpatriotic to urge resort to the one effective peace measure—embargo?

But granting the main contention to be correct, we have a right to ask whether the rule has been consistently applied. Shortly after the beginning of the war, the Secretary of State, in a communication addressed to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate, made a public declaration that this country would not permit loans to be made to foreign countries. It was clearly argued that such loans would be unneutral; and, furthermore, that they would be calculated to arouse disquiet and resentment in this country to an extent that might ultimately prove dangerous. That position was changed after the war had been under way for practically a year. Without explanation, our government permitted foreign war loans to be made upon a scale unparalleled in history. It will not do to say that these were purely private loans, and that our government was without control. Few will contend that these loans would have been made against the protest of the President of the United States. With the national bank system, based upon the principle that it is necessary to the fiscal operations of the government, and with its machinery under executive control as it now is, no institution and no citizen would have dared to make these loans without the tacit approval of the government. For be it remembered, with all our talk of

bureaucracy and royal mandates, we, more than any civilized power, are giving illustration of practical one-man power. With respect to the loans, our position was, therefore, changed. We announced one rule at the beginning of the war; and after a lapse of three-quarters of a year we adopted another rule, precisely the reverse.

Did not Germany have a right to rely upon the rule that was announced at the inception of the war? If we persisted in the sale of ammunition because we had in the beginning announced that policy, and determined to permit loans, although we had at first announced the opposite policy, were we not guilty of unneutrality to Germany? In any event, is it an offense to ask that the two rules of conduct be reconciled?

It is not my purpose to discuss these questions at length at this time. I am here to say that these are facts and conditions that necessarily invite differences of opinion; and that we cannot afford to let them pass without consideration, or to frame our conclusions in obedience to official dictation. (Applause.)

It is safe to say that barring a few who would force our country into the foreign conflict at any cost, the vast body of the population of this country rejoices to know that the submarine controversy between the United States and Germany has been adjusted. There is little question that, apart from the merits of the controversy, the great majority of our people felt that no sufficient ground for war between the two nations was presented, in a case in which the element of intent and direct attack was utterly lacking. It is a relief, therefore, to the peace-loving people of this country to know that Germany yielded to our demands; and that as between these countries that controversy may be regarded as settled, for the period of this war at least. It is gratifying to know that the friendship between the two nations, which had its inception during the revolutionary days, when Frederick the Great was prompt to recognize the independence of the colonies, and which was cemented by Germany's attitude during our Civil War, has received this renewed confirmation.

There were questions presented, however, that justified, and that probably will hereafter invite differences of opinion. The submarine is a new instrument of war, with respect to which there are very few, if any, international rules. Indeed, the development of this marine weapon is so new, and so out of line with anything that had obtained heretofore, that it is practically impossible to adjust or to apply old rules to the new conditions. No doubt most authorities will agree that in so far as passenger ships, pure and simple, are concerned, this new marine weapon must adjust itself to the rules that have heretofore been made for the protection of life. To that extent our country registered a triumph in which our people must rejoice, and to which no doubt civilized nations will give their approval. One practical question, however, has not been eliminated, and this is, what is a passenger ship? Without going into the elements of controversy, as to whether a ship once employed as an auxiliary may again seek protection as a passenger ship, or what effect shall be given to admiralty orders covering all merchantmen and adopted or carried out by only some of them, or what will be the result if the ship fails or refuses to comply with an order to stop; without discussing these matters, a fundamental question does appear to be raised, when a ship, by invoking protection for passengers, as a necessary result secures protection for its contraband cargo. In other words, can a ship become an ammunition carrier for a belligerent government, and, at the same time, enjoy the character of a passenger ship in the accepted sense? For the purpose of this war that question seems to be adjusted, and let us hope that it is. But it does not follow that this decision has been definitely and generally accepted

as a rule of conduct. We, too, have built submarines, and we are contemplating the building of a great many more. We, too, propose to use those submarines; and before accepting that this controversy has been finally determined, it will be interesting to know what the views of our own admiralty are, and to what use the orders of our admiralty proposed to put these submarines at the time of their adoption. In other words, the practical question is this: If we were at war with a foreign country, and that country undertook to have a ship under its flag carry a cargo of ammunition to its troops engaged in conflict with us, and, at the same time, to carry passengers of a neutral nation, would our Secretary of War or our President give the order that the delivery of the ammunition to our enemy engaged in battle with our men must be prevented at any cost? Would we insist that a ship cannot in time of war be both a passenger and an ammunition carrier; that the ship which carries ammunition to the enemy is, to all intents and purposes, directly or indirectly, by the reason of the rule, an auxiliary; and that auxiliary ships serving the armies of the enemy cannot be permitted to secure protection by carrying innocent passengers? Would we drive the principle to its logical consequences, and insist that an enemy cannot protect an ammunition-carrying ship from the attack of our submarine, simply because it has managed to induce one neutral passenger to sail under its flag? "The United States as a government has been the leading champion in favor of the adoption of the principle of the immunity from capture of private property at sea, excepting for the carriage of contraband and violation of blockade." Would it be unreasonable to ask that the carrying of passengers and ammunition be similarly separated, to secure the protection of innocent life on the one hand and the right to effective defense on the other hand? Again, it is not necessary to insist upon certain conclusions upon these questions. It is necessary to have opinions; and it is necessary to preserve the right to express those opinions so long as final decisions have not been reached.

Is it unpatriotic to ask the question whether the rule enforced by Great Britain against the United States in the case of Mason and Slidell has been abrogated without our consent or with it? Is it not humiliating to have a great nation told that a rule enforced against us with a practical threat of war has now been changed without consulting us; and without attention to such protests as may have been entered? As a matter of self-respect, every citizen who loves his flag wants to know why and how it is that a threat administered half a century ago, humiliating Abraham Lincoln and his advisers, forcing us to make apology and denial, has been abrogated.

There are other questions with respect to which it should not be regarded as unpatriotic to make inquiry; and fortunately with respect to these the citizen who makes bold to inquire stands upon ground which has been stated and confirmed by the authority of our government, although without apparent result. That our foreign commerce has been seriously interfered with goes without saying. The answer that in the general result we have not suffered, because we have managed to export more than we did before the war, is both insufficient and humiliating. The question is not one of monetary return alone, although the practical damage is not to be underestimated. The real question is whether rules of international law, molded by centuries of controversy, accepted by practice and by conferences, finding their final expression in the Declaration of London, shall be abrogated without effective protest from us. The more essential question is whether we shall stand by to suffer the standards of international law to be lowered, or whether we shall insist that accepted rules must be maintained in their integrity; whether while we are engaged in elevating the rules of international law with respect to the use of the new engine of war—the submarine—we will at least not suffer those rules,

which have been accepted by all civilized nations, to be disregarded when the responsibility for their observance is laid at our door. This is the position that Holland took when that state solemnly protested, not only because her commerce was affected, but because she regarded it as her obligation to the civilized world to protest against all infringements of accepted international law. If we had sustained Holland in that position, and had gathered to our support the influence of other neutral powers, there is no practical question that the rules existing at the beginning of the war would be maintained in their full integrity at this time. Instead of that, we are discussing the commercial effect upon us, as though a profitable showing could relieve us from the obligation to maintain the sanctity of the rule. But even the commercial contention is necessarily false; because our loss is not to be measured by the cargoes that are immediately held up, or by the ammunition orders with which we are temporarily favored, but by the general depreciation and interference that the development of our foreign commerce is made to suffer. We are deprived of the one legitimate opportunity that has fallen to us during this war. We have developed one branch of commerce which is denounced by international law as contraband, and we have been denied the development of that branch of commerce for the preservation of which the rules of international law are primarily intended. We are attesting our neutrality to the belligerents on one side by insisting upon the sale of ammunition, because that was our practice when the war started; but we are failing to establish our neutrality to the belligerents on the other side by permitting their enemies to prevent us from delivering foodstuff and other non-contraband goods to the non-combatant citizens of their countries. This situation may be satisfactory to those of our eminent citizens who boast of their personal unneutrality; but it cannot be unpatriotic for those who stand for an actual neutrality to submit that we have not managed to hold the scales impartially between the belligerents; that we have met one side with an ultimatum and the other with diplomatic conversation.

Very few want war against any of the belligerents. No one in this country would have war against Great Britain or France. There are a few who no doubt would be glad to have our country driven into war with Germany and Austria. But why speak of such consequences when there is nothing in the situation to justify it? We have not hesitated to insist upon our position where issues were in doubt. Why not insist upon our rights where principles are undisputed? A firm tone signifying that our demands, where they are unquestioned, because they stand upon the rules of accepted international law, are not legitimate subjects for arbitration, but must be met now while they are of importance to us, would be satisfactorily answered. No one questions that. And if the unexpected result of a refusal to meet such demands should ensue, we know that we have it in our power to force the issues without conflict. We have a right to resort to those measures which Thomas Jefferson recommended, and which every statesman knows to be ready at our hands. If we cannot ship legitimate goods, we can refuse to ship illegitimate goods; and the answer is made. Is it unpatriotic for a citizen of the United States to suggest such ready and prompt relief; and is he to be told that he is disloyal to his country, because he is disposed to consider measures that might be effective, instead of relying upon protests that are not answered? (Applause.)

Again, I say to the people who have felt aggrieved by partisan comment, do not permit yourselves to be driven into a spirit of resentment and retaliation. (Applause.) Remember your position as citizens of the United States. Consider your rights. Do not hesitate to express your opinions; and trust that when Congress meets there will be men in the Senate and in the

House who will not hesitate to insist upon knowing the reasons why certain things are done and certain things are not done.

I admit that after my country is at war, there is an end to the discussion. But until that time it is our duty to do everything in our power for the enlightenment of ourselves and our fellowmen. Lord Erskine declared that if ever the time came when the meanest criminal could not find a reputable lawyer to defend him in the courts, then his country's liberties would crumble. If that is true of court proceedings, is it not infinitely more true of public questions?

To submit to a contrary rule, I would have to set aside all the teachings that have guided me. I would have to disavow the teachings of Luther which my grandfather and great-grandfather preached in the old church in Germany. I would have to put aside Burke and Fox and Pitt, and other English leaders who did not hesitate on the floor of Parliament to question the policy of England, when she was at war with her colonies on this side. (Applause.) I have accepted the teachings of these men as a profound political influence of my life, and I am not prepared to abandon that influence now.

But let us not treat this situation too seriously. There has been great improvement, as every one must know; and by degrees many things are creeping over the horizon. The American people are fair-minded, and the truth is bound to come to its own. Let us begin to look to the future and dwell not too much upon the past. Peace may be a long way off; but peace may come very suddenly. Our war-stock friends may have a rude awakening. No one can tell; and with the exception of war-stock operators, no one will regret when the end does come. It is time to think of possible peace, and of what peace may mean. It should not mean a mere compromise, if it is to be lasting. It should mean an adjustment upon principles which hold out the expectation of endurance. There is no lasting peace until the belligerents can come to an agreement which recognizes geographical distinctions and racial dignity, so that nations may live side by side in friendly intercourse, each developing what is peculiar to itself. Without that in the terms of peace, further conflict would be inevitable.

So I say, instead of nursing resentment, plan for the future. Do not indulge in that peculiar German characteristic which is called "Empfindlichkeit." Preserve your sense of humor, and practice what Morely calls "Weltanschauung." Regard yourselves as members of the nation, with rights and with responsibilities. Show tolerance for the people who disagree with you. It is entirely natural, for illustration, that people in the city of New York sympathize with people in London. Why would they not? Commercially and socially, many of them are closer to London than they are to Chicago. Some of them know more about London than they know about the United States. When they have business with London they are sent for and are proud to go. When they have business with the West they send for us, and we are glad to go. That is a natural situation, which explains much of the spirit that has been shown and much of the impatience that has been felt.

It would be wiser, in my opinion, instead of indulging resentment and injury, to give support to rational propositions of peace; to give support, if you please, to those men in Germany who are counselling reasonable measures looking to peace. To me it seems rational to begin to contemplate in this country that Germany and Austria may not be crushed. So far, all argument with us seems to have proceeded upon the idea that this must be the war's outcome. Indications are not that way. Without indulging in prophecy or in promise, I submit that it is not unreasonable to consider terms of peace, predicated upon the idea that the integrity of the several civilized nations may

be preserved; and that some day they may stand shoulder to shoulder for the vindication and the triumph of humane and sacred principles. Why not give support to such ideas? Instead of boasting of deeds of heroism in the respective countries, why not go to the assistance of the strong men, of whom there are many in all these countries, who are prepared to advocate rational plans for bringing this war to an end?

Since it is for us to consider our own immediate interests first, is it too early to give our minds to the all-controlling question in which the United States is, and for over a century has been, interested; and which, in many respects, constitutes the most essential or embarrassing issue of the foreign conflict? But for the controversy about the freedom of the seas, and about the immunity of private property at sea, there is at least reason to believe that the war could be brought to an early end. Heretofore we have stood for the right of private property at sea, as it is recognized upon land, and we have enjoyed the support of Germany. This is the time to confirm our position. So far, we have submitted to the greatest humiliation by way of dictation, as to what we may or may not do upon the high seas, that has ever been administered by one great power to another; although the acceptance of our contention would be more far-reaching in its consequences to lasting peace than any other rule of conduct that is now in controversy. If the protection of private property upon the high seas is once admitted, the inducement to defeat nations by laying low their foreign commerce will be gone. With the recognition of that rational principle, a long step toward the limitation of navies will have been taken; and a more effective measure for the preservation of peace between nations will have been adopted than can be brought about by the most elaborate treaties that diplomats and statesmen can devise.

But there is a broader aspect. Professor Bonn has said that our relations with Germany must be perpetuated, no matter how aggrieved she or we may feel. That is true of our relations with all the civilized nations. The essential influence of Germany must, of course, be exercised by force of ideas, and not by conquest of territory. That has been her history, and no doubt will, in the main, continue to be. But if her aim is to have a wider influence than has been the case in the past, she herself will have in some respects to correct her methods. I admit that she has suffered because she could not enjoy the equal use of a foreign language in presenting her case abroad. So far as we are concerned, the English language constitutes a practical monopoly. This accounts for our failure to understand the condition or the attitude of foreign peoples. We have failed to receive much information, and we have suffered some deception in consequence. Even Germany's enemies may now be said to suffer because of the failure to obtain full information. It is doubtful, for instance, whether the starving process would have been as confidently entertained if Great Britain had been better acquainted with German books, or even with some English books. It is true, at the same time, that Germany herself, while fairly well informed about her neighbors, has not adopted the necessary and proper methods to state her case adequately and persuasively to the civilized world. Perhaps she has relied too much upon truth to prove its own case. But be that as it may, Germany has not succeeded in the past in making herself understood abroad. In so far as such an understanding is of value to us, it appears to me that the descendants of German ancestry in this country have failed on their part to fully represent what is good and strong and fine in the country of their forefathers. Even now, and I say it with regret, there is too much disposition to dwell upon the great achievements of the old country, instead of showing how the preparation for such achievements might be advantageously adapted here.

It is perfectly true that Germany has something to give to the world that cannot be spared. For more than a year we have spoken of militarism in terms of condemnation. Now we speak of it in terms of applause. Our difficulty is that we do not seem to appreciate that we have changed our mind. Should we not begin to understand that there is something besides army and navy, and guns and ammunition, in preparedness? I would not detract from the achievements of the army; but the German army is no more than the point of the arrow. The shaft that drives it home is the social and industrial system. In this respect Germany has done what no nation has ever accomplished—she has solved the problem which in the past had seemed beyond solution; the problem of protecting the man without making him weak; of helping him, without coddling him. That country has at least approached the secret. Every man and every woman and their children are part of the state. They are developed, and, in turn, they serve. This is one of the great demonstrations of this war, and it constitutes a marvel of our time. We speak of the crippled conditions in which this war will leave the belligerents. No doubt there will be tragedy enough. But I predict that Germany will give evidence of preparation for the industrial struggle, pursued even in the days of her ordeal. We do not know precisely how it is done; but there may be a partial explanation. Germany is the one great nation of modern times in which industrial and social development preceded political union. She had her "Zollverein" before she had her empire. In other words, the social development—the industrial development—had been had before the empire was created; and these developments form an integral and natural part of her system.

Great Britain is just as socialistic as Germany; but has she achieved as much in this realm? She has not, because England has accepted her social reforms by way of political compromise. She has yielded to the threat of political force; while Germany has, in a far more normal fashion, engrafted her socialism as a part of an industrial and social system. Universal education, in the broadest sense, has made Germany. As Carlyle suggested—you may discover the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, without even indicating the worthy beneficiary of the doctrine.

If we want to be of assistance to our country, let us present and study these facts, because so far we in this country have embraced the same deceptive policy of legislative cure-alls that has constituted Great Britain's greatest danger for the last quarter of a century. (Applause.) We look to political relief for all our ills. We are trying to accomplish our results by precisely the same methods which have caused Great Britain's difficulties. Whenever anything appears to be wrong we try to right it by statute. Our laws are more numerous and less consistent than those of Germany; but we glory in our democracy, and denounce Germany's bureaucracy, still trusting to the healing powers of the phrasemakers. It is time that we recognize the necessity for going deeper than statutory relief.

The situation is entirely natural. In matters of political liberty Great Britain was far in advance of any other country. By the declaration of our independence we forged still farther ahead. But both peoples learned to look to political measures for every kind of freedom; and now we think that an Act of Congress or an Act of the Legislature must afford a remedy for any complaint. Even now when we speak of "National Defense," we have in mind appropriations, armies and navies. National defense cannot be had without these; but we are too apt to forget that the integrity and patriotism of the people constitute the first condition; and that, before we learn to shoot, we ought to learn to walk.



Again, what have the descendants of Germany in this country done to give the United States the benefit of Germany's experience in a sphere in which she has undeniably excelled? Have they transplanted into our country that for which German efficiency really stands? Take another illustration: Municipal self-government is the one admitted political success in Germany. Municipal government is the one distinct failure in the United States. What have those of our citizens who should be most familiar with the secrets of Germany's success contributed to impress upon our country the advantage of Germany's experience? I see little evidence of it; and I feel like saying in despair that the activity has consisted largely in contests between German-Americans and Irish-Americans and Italian-Americans, and the like, over municipal jobs. (Applause.) Is not this true if we look at it honestly? We have imitated the political system, instead of correcting it. Frankly, we may take credit for having given a place to the literature and art and especially the science of the Fatherland; but there should be more of a stand for practical idealism in the United States. Not as a separate citizenship; not as a distinct race; but as part of the whole people. The representatives of various peoples must amalgamate to create a distinct American type, strengthened by the traditions, the customs, the achievements, and, if you please, by the dreams of each and all of them.

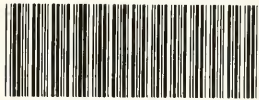
*Professor Shepherd.*

In conclusion, my friends, permit me to say that you have been treated to a symposium of opinion, and of thorough and earnest truth-telling which ought to remain with you long and abide in your minds and hearts; for it is good to hear the truth, not only sometimes, but often. With all our sense of affection for the lands of our ancestors, we know that our primary duty is to ourselves in our own community. What all the world has to offer us along the lines of human betterment, we shall utilize and employ in the full measure of our strength. You men and women of German origin have brought to your adopted land a noble heritage and enriched it accordingly. Of it you may well be proud, as we of another European ancestry are proud of what it has done for our common country. In fact we are proud of our forefathers from whatever realm they came, and of the work of their descendants in the construction of the American commonwealth.

We have heard, then, of German efficiency, of methods of international co-operation and of the duty of the American citizen, whatever the land of his ancestors, in the performance of the mutual tasks of a world humanity. By lessons so inspiring I trust that we may profit in the fullest degree.



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